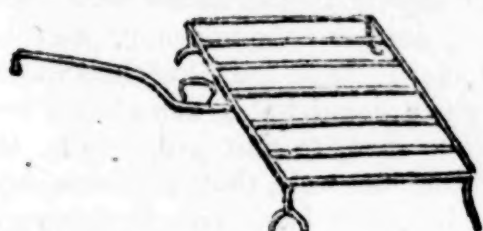


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## REMARKS

### *On the Letter of Dr. Doyle.*

*Kensington, 14th December, 1828.*

THE Register of the 6th of this month contained a letter, addressed to me by this very able writer, and, generally speaking, exemplary Catholic Bishop, complaining that I (in my Letter to his Holiness, the Pope) had misrepresented his opinions in two respects; FIRST, as relating to the *tithes* yielded to the established *law-church*; and, SECOND, as relating to the Papal authority in Ireland. Dr. DOYLE is a person to be spoken of in a manner very different from that in which it is just and proper to speak of such men as O'CONNELL and his associates. I respect this *real* Bishop, this *real* descendant of the Apostles, on account of his great abilities, his great industry and zeal, still more on account of his charitable and truly pastor-like conduct, and, above all, on account of that religion to which he belongs, and during the continuance of which, in England, our country was so free, so great, so virtuous, and so happy. But, the greater his ability, the more dangerous his errors; and, therefore, though it cost me a good deal of pain, I thought it my duty to express my disapprobation of his conduct with regard to the above-mentioned two points. That I have not been in *haste* to censure Dr. DOYLE, the following fact will prove: just after the publication of his Letter to the "Stern-path" man, who is now no more, a Roman Catholic gentleman of great learning wished me to publish a pamphlet, entitled, "*Thirty-nine Heresies of Dr. DOYLE.*" I thought his charges good; I actually set the printer to work; but,

hoping that we should hear of no more such publications from Dr. DOYLE, I stopped the printing at the end of the second sheet. But when, to the Letter to "Stern-path" man, there came to be added, a Letter to Mr. ROBINSON, suggesting an *Union of the two Churches*, and then a Letter to the DUKE of WELLINGTON, suggesting a *Concordat* to be obtained from the Pope, I could not, consistently with my opinions on the subject, longer refrain from using my endeavours to check the progress of these projects, dangerous to us *all*, and dangerous for the reasons that I shall presently state.

But, before I proceed further to speak of the projects and of their consequences, I will here insert the words in which Dr. DOYLE makes his complaint.

"I have just now read, in your letter to his Holiness the Pope, paragraph 29, as published in your Register of the 15th of this month, the following passage. "This same Doctor (Doyle) has contended that the tithes and other revenues now enjoyed by the Protestant Church, are enjoyed by it not only in fact and by law, but by divine right; and that it is sinful in Catholics to endeavour to relieve themselves from the burthen. And, to crown the whole, he has recently contended that your Holiness has no right to interfere in the appointment of Catholic Bishops, in any part of this kingdom; he has complained that the exercise of this right is still claimed by the Holy See, and has distinctly proposed that a law should be passed to abrogate this right."—I am confident that you are not disposed to do an injury knowingly and willingly to any person; and, as the publication of the foregoing paragraph of your letter to his Holiness the Pope, might, if left uncontradicted, be injurious to me, that you will have the justice and the goodness to publish, in your Register, as soon as you conveniently

"can, the few following remarks.—  
 "First, then, I have never thought  
 "or expressed, in words or writing,  
 "that the tithes and other reve-  
 "nues now enjoyed by the Pro-  
 "testant Church are enjoyed by it,  
 "not only in fact and by law, but by  
 "divine right." I have, on the con-  
 "trary, maintained by word and writing,  
 "that such tithes and revenues were,  
 "and are, enjoyed by the Church in  
 "virtue of the law of the land, and only  
 "by that title. Moreover, I have not  
 "thought, or said, or wrote, that it  
 "would be sinful in Catholics or Pro-  
 "testants to endeavour to relieve them-  
 "selves, by legal means, from that or  
 "any other burthen. Second.—I have  
 "at no time or place "contended,"  
 "by word or writing, "that his Ho-  
 "liness the Pope had not a right to  
 "interfere in the appointment of Ca-  
 "tholic Bishops, in any part of this  
 "kingdom." I have always maintained  
 "the contrary. I believe he has such  
 "right; and, in place of complaining  
 "of the exercise of it, or proposing that  
 "a law should be passed to abrogate  
 "this right, I would, with God's help,  
 "surrender my life rather than consent  
 "to, or concur in, any law or measure  
 "which would abrogate such right of his  
 "Holiness."

Now, I have, since I received the letter from which this passage is taken, looked very attentively at the pamphlets of Dr. DOYLE, and at his evidence before the Committee of the Lords; and, I really should have been glad to find reason for acknowledging myself in error; but, with the exception of the mere phrase, "*divine right*," I find nothing to alter in the passage complained of by Dr. DOYLE; and, even that phrase is fully justified by a fair interpretation of the meaning of the words to which I alluded. This is a great point with me, who *always*, who invariably, contended, that what was wanted in Ireland was, a *repeal of the Protestant Hierarchy*, without which I always insisted, that what is called Catholic Emancipation would be useless, and even mischievous. Therefore, when I find a Catholic Bishop representing the property possessed by

that Hierarchy, as *justly* possessed, and as being a thing *not to give offence* by its continuance in the same hands, *provided Catholic Emancipation were granted*, what am I to conclude other than that the Doctor looks on the Church as having not only a legal but a *moral and conscientious right to that property*? We know but too well, that it has a *legal* right; but, if it have any further right, that right must be spiritual or divine.

What, then, was Dr. DOYLE's evidence upon this subject, evidence given before the Committee of the House of Lords, in 1825? In his evidence before the Committee of Parliament, on the 16th of March, 1825, being asked a question relative to the burying of Roman Catholics in the Protestant churchyard, he says, "that he conceives that the Rector of the parish (the Protestant Rector) has a *just and reasonable right* to his Church." Now, if he have a just and reasonable right to his Church, he has the same of every part and parcel of his benefice: *just and reasonable*, especially coming from a Catholic Bishop, means a great deal more than *legal*; and, for my part I do not see how a man is to complain of the doings of Henry the Eighth, of his transfers, his confiscations, and his plunderings, if the present holders of the property have a *just and reasonable* right to it. *Legally*, we, unfortunately, know that they have the right; but, ninety-nine out of every hundred Protestants, not excluding the Church people, positively deny that they have a just and reasonable right; and, yet, a Catholic Bishop of Ireland, knowing as he does, so well, the manner in which the property was obtained, and the uses that are made of it, steps forward as a volunteer to tell the Parliament that the Catholics acknowledge (for he says *we*) the present possessors to have not only a *legal*, but a just and reasonable right to the property, and to employ it in the manner which they now do; for that is clearly implied in the declaration.

In his evidence before the House of Lords, given on the 21st March, 1825, DOCTOR DOYLE, having been asked whether the Catholics wished to possess



themselves of any of the property of the Church of England, he positively answered in the negative; saying, "that they did not wish to possess themselves of any portion of the property belonging to the Church; and, that, if the salary (then proposed to be granted) were granted out of the tithes now received by the Protestant Clergy, nothing should induce him to accept of it;" though, observe, he would consent to accept of a salary out of the taxes. In answer to subsequent questions, being reminded of certain passages of the Letters of J. K. L., of which he was the well-known author, and in which he had spoken of the tithes in the manner, which we shall presently see, he said, that he thought the revenues of the Established Church "rather great for the means of the country;" and that, both Catholics and Protestants, might possibly wish the amount to be diminished, and the money applied to other uses of the state; but, that, he regarded the Established Church as a Christian community, and that he respected and esteemed it more than any other Church separated from the See of Rome; and that, one of his reasons for his objecting to the amount of its revenues, was, that that amount, being so large, "was prejudicial to the interests of the established religion in Ireland." What! a Catholic Bishop, esteeming and respecting a heretical establishment? For, *heretical* he must think it, or he himself is a dissenter from the Church of Rome; a Catholic Bishop lamenting that the Church revenues are so great, and wishing to diminish them, because their greatness is *prejudicial* to the interests of a Church, which has supplanted his own in point of property, and which is deemed heretical by every principle of the Catholic religion.

He further said, on the day just mentioned, that he did not suppose, that he himself entertained any objections with regard to the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, which a "Protestant might not equally feel." But, now comes the grand declaration. Being asked, whether the objection to

*Tithes*, as they now stand, be removed in any degree by Catholic Emancipation, he answered "Yes, I do conceive that they would be greatly removed." He was asked then, this short and pithy question: "IN WHAT WAY?" Never was so unsatisfactory an answer as he gave to this; and, that he may be fairly heard, I will here state the answer in the very words of the minutes of the Evidence. "I conceive that the removal of the disqualifications under which Roman Catholics labour would lessen considerably those feelings of opposition which they may at present entertain with regard to the Establishment, chiefly for this reason, that whilst we labour under the disabilities which now weigh upon us, we find that the clergy of the Establishment, being very numerous and very opulent, employ their influence and their opulence in various ways in opposing the progress of our claims; and I do think, that if those claims were once adjusted, and the concessions which we desire granted, the country would settle down into a habit of quiet, and that we would no longer feel the jealousy against the clergy of the Establishment which we now feel; because that jealousy which we do feel arises chiefly from the unrelaxed efforts which they have almost universally made to oppose our claims. We would view them then, if those claims were granted, as brethren labouring in the same vineyard as ourselves, seeking to promote the interests of our common country."

Leaving the Doctor for a moment to his fellowship in labour in the same vineyard with heretics, I proceed to observe that this answer did not appear to satisfy their Lordships, who, therefore, returned to the charge, and asked him "How tithes would become less objectionable, considering that they are to be paid by people chiefly engaged in tilling the land?" And, of course, to receive no gratification from Catholics being made admissible to political power, being quite sure that they never would get upon the bench, never get into the King's Council, never get into Parliament, and never

get any share of the good things which emancipation, as it is called, is supposed likely to yield. This question was a pincher, and Doctor Doyle gave no answer at all to it. He began to talk about the *tithe composition* bill, and said that if that bill were enforced the objection to tithes would in a great measure cease! Well, then, that bill could be enforced *without Catholic Emancipation*, without putting SHEIL and O'CONNELL on the bench, and without the putting of any Catholics into Parliament, for the Protestant Parliament had already passed the bill.

But, DOCTOR DOYLE here says, that if Catholic Emancipation were granted upon the *terms then contemplated* (and we are to mark this), the people would be content enough to pay the tithes, and that the objection to tithes would then nearly cease. He does not say how the *Protestants* are to be rendered contented by this measure of *emancipation*; how it should happen, that *they* would like tithes better merely because Catholics were admitted into Parliament and placed upon the bench; how it should happen, that Presbyterians, for instance, should look upon the Church parsons as *toiling in the same vineyard* with themselves, from the moment that they began to pay salaries to the Catholic priests and bishops by compulsion; and the moment they saw DANIEL O'CONNELL and RICHARD SHEIL upon the bench, dispensing justice to the people of Ireland. But, DOCTOR DOYLE has spoken of these tithes and of this Church property in another place, in the Letters of J. K. L., which letters stand for JAMES, KILDARE, and LEIGHLIN. These Letters were written and published in the *early* part of 1825, and were printed by RICHARD COYNE, of Dublin. This, the reader will be pleased to observe, was before O'CONNELL and his deputies came to England; and consequently *before* the making of the famous proposition for giving salaries to the priests, and for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders. The reader will be pleased to mark this well, before he reads the passage which I am about to quote from the Letters of J. K. L. Now

let us hear, what was Doctor Doyle's opinion relative to the tithes of Ireland, *before a salary was tendered to him*, and *before* he had expressed his willingness to *receive the salary*, rather than his refusal should prevent the DUKE of NORFOLK from sitting in the House of Lords, and O'CONNELL from sitting (Lord preserve us!) in judgment-robes upon the bench. The reader will be pleased to bear this in mind, and then to hear what DOCTOR DOYLE said in the fifth Letter of J. K. L., written and published in the early part of 1825.

After describing numerous evils experienced by the people of Ireland; and of the hatred and oppression, which he calls the links which connect the peasantry and gentry of Ireland, he thus proceeds on the subject of tithes:—"But the most *heart-rending curse* which Providence has permitted to fall on the land occupier in Ireland is the *Church Establishment*; this, like the scorpion's tail, is armed at all points, and scourges the peasant through *tithes and Church-rates*, till it draws his very *blood*. This establishment not only strips him of food and raiment, but it also insults him by the monstrous injustice of obliging him to give his sweat and labour, and the bread of children, to build or repair waste houses, whilst he himself is left to pray in the open air; to feed the parson and his rapacious family and followers, who go about, not doing good, but to vilify and calumniate the religion which this peasant reveres: it compels him to purchase bread and wine, and stoves and music, for the church which he deems **PROFANE**: to pay the glazier and the sexton, and the grave-digger, and divide his clothes between [meaning amongst] them, and to cast lots, like the Christ-killing Jews upon his cloak. Whilst these oppressions are suffered to continue, how can the men, who are made in the image and likeness of God, and for whose use the earth yields all its produce, how can they be fed, or in any way provided for?" He adds directly afterwards, "I should rather desire with Rousseau to return to a



"state of nature, than cease protesting against a system, which has rendered population a curse, and which has condemned, by an inversion of the ordinance of God, a people to live only for the sake of institutions."

Such was DOCTOR DOYLE's description of the effect of tithes, in the month of January 1825, before the project of salaries had been broached; but, in the month of March 1825, though no new law had been passed; though the tithes were just what they were in January; though the "parson and his rapacious family and followers" were just the same people; though they still went about, "not doing good," but to vilify and calumniate the Catholic religion; though all this was just what it was in the month of January, DOCTOR DOYLE had found out, that by giving political power to the laity amongst the Catholics, without making any alteration in the law of tithes, the "heart-rending curse" would be greatly removed, and that, the "scorpion's tail" which "soured the peasants of Ireland through tithes and church-rates, till it drew their very blood," would be so little felt, "that the country would settle down into a habit of quiet; and that the Catholics would no longer feel the jealousy against the clergy of the Establishment which they now feel;" and that the Catholic clergy would view the Protestant parsons (rapacious family and all of course), as "*fellow-labourers in the same vineyard with themselves!*" What! parsons who go about, "not doing good," but to vilify and calumniate the Catholic "religion;" parsons who compel the Irish Catholic to purchase bread and wine, and stoves and music, for a church, which he deems PRO-FANE; these parsons to become all at once DOCTOR DOYLE's fellow-labourers in the same vineyard! What! parsons, who authorized the sexton and the grave-digger, to cast lots for the cloak of the dead Catholic, "in imitation of the God-killing Jews;" these parsons, who are thus described in the month of January, were to become all at once, when the DUKE of NORFOLK got into the House of Lords, O'CONNELL

and SHEIL upon the bench, and the Doctor himself a salary, merely by this miraculous spell, without any diminution of tithes and church-rates; these parsons were all at once to become fellow-labourers with the Doctor in the same vineyard, and to be by him "*respected and esteemed,*" though teachers in a church, which, in January, he "*deemed profane!*"

DOCTOR DOYLE, in the conclusion of his letter to me, says, that I am *alienated from the interests of the Catholics*, and that he wishes, that I were their friend. The Doctor deceives himself if he suppose that the Catholics in general do not think me their firm and unalterable friend. But, that opposition to what is called their emancipation, which I have recently made, and which assumed more than ordinary activity at the time of the memorable meeting on PENENDEN HEATH, the Doctor may ascribe if he pleases, and he may do it truly in very considerable part, to HIMSELF. He knows well that, long before he was examined by the Houses of Lords and Commons, I, in two letters addressed to HIS MAJESTY, most distinctly stated my opinion that nothing could restore happiness to Ireland short of *repeal of the Protestant Hierarchy in Ireland*. This DOCTOR DOYLE knows well: he knows that these letters were written before the publication of that Letter of J. K. L. which I have just quoted; he knows, in short, that he never would have been bold enough to publish that letter, if I had not led the way, and distinctly proposed to *unestablish* by law the Church in Ireland.

I am extremely anxious to do justice to this part of my subject; and to show to the public that I have the most solid reasons for being now opposed to what is called Catholic Emancipation, until we have a Parliament, which I deem competent to protect us against its natural consequences. I will, therefore, here insert from my Letter to the King, published in the Register on the 2d of October, 1824, *nine paragraphs*, all following each other in the Letter, and here numbered from one to nine. When the reader has gone through

these paragraphs, he will clearly see how consistent I have been upon this subject, and how completely I had anticipated the Letters of J. K. L. The reader will be so good as to go over these paragraphs with attention, before proceeding further.

1. "That cause will, if the matter be well looked into, be found in the existence of the **PROTESTANT CHURCH**. The principal part of the landowners are Protestants; and it is impossible that the feelings with regard to the Protestant Church should not extend themselves to them. It was wise, perhaps, to endeavour, in the first place, to make the Irish a Protestant people; but that having completely failed, the Irish people having, in spite of persecutions unparalleled, continued faithful to the religion of their fathers, the attempt ought to have been abandoned.

2. "The Protestant landowners seeing themselves surrounded by a people who, at the very least, wish harm to them, naturally dislike their homes, and flee from them. Their estates are committed to the care of stewards, middle-men, and factors, who act towards the people like men that venture their lives for gain. The situation of Ireland, with regard to religious matters, has long been such as to render peace and content *absolutely impossible*. Not only do the Catholics see the churches built by their fathers taken from them, together with all the endowments so amply provided by those fathers; not only are they compelled to yield tithes to the last potato to those who have taken possession of their sacred patrimony; but, they see themselves compelled to contribute towards erecting churches and parsonage-houses for those who call them idolators, and whom they abhor.

3. "So many acts of injustice have been committed against the Catholics of Ireland, that he must be a bold man who says that he has laid his finger upon the *most unjust*. But, when we see that the Protestant priesthood have suffered the churches which they took from the Catholics to fall

into ruins, and suffered the parsonage-houses which they took at the same time, to become heaps of rubbish; when we see them all the while receiving profits for a great number of years; and then see these very Catholics compelled to *contribute towards the rebuilding of churches and of parsonage-houses*; when we see this, we may, I think, say that we have found the *most galling* of all the things that any people upon earth ever had to endure.

4. "No man in his senses can hope, that while this state of things lasts there can be peace and content in Ireland; or, that the Catholics will not seek for, or wish for deliverance, come from what source it may. Under such circumstances, it is not to be expected that the Church will collect its revenue without the aid of an armed force. That armed force is constantly at hand for the purpose, and by no means unfrequently employed. The battle of *Skibbereen*; that battle alone, ought to have been the subject of solemn inquiry before the face of the whole nation. Here is a minister of the Gospel of peace, actually going with armed men to collect his tithes from his parishoners. A battle ensues; **AND THERE ARE KILLED ON BOTH SIDES**. Is this religion? Is this the Christian religion? Are these the fruits of the preaching of Christ and of St. Paul? Such a scene was never before exhibited in the world, except in Ireland.

5. "This source of discord and animosity is inexhaustible. The parson, the tithe-proctor, the tithe-renter, some one or other is continually in motion, and the hatred and strife is incessant. Waylayings, burglaries, plunderings, and murders are the natural consequence. The Church is armed with all the powers and terror of the law; but these only render the hatred against her more implacable. There can happen no dispute, no quarrel, into which the poison from this inexhaustible source does not infuse itself; reconciliation is utterly impossible; the cause of the animosity is in its very



"nature inextinguishable, as long as the  
 "parties co-exist upon the same spot,  
 "and in their present relative situation.

6. "That which has been called  
 "*Catholic Emancipation*, would, in fact,  
 "be no emancipation at all to the great  
 "body of the Irish people. I would not,  
 "if I had the power, *prevent* it; but I  
 "am sure that it would not restore peace  
 "and content to Ireland. To do this,  
 "there is nothing short, in my opinion,  
 "of *unestablishing by law*, that Church  
 "which has been by law established.  
 "This would, at once, do away with all  
 "the strifes and all the murders; and Ire-  
 "land would become a source of strength  
 "to us, instead of being an encourage-  
 "ment to our foes.

7. "And, may it please your Majesty,  
 "where is the obstacle to the accom-  
 "plishment of a thing so desirable?  
 "Cannot the Parliament with the King,  
 "undo by law that which by law  
 "they did? If the Parliament could  
 "take all the churches, and all the  
 "Church property from the Catho-  
 "lics, and bestow them upon Protest-  
 "ants; if they could take a full third-  
 "part of the tithes and lands belonging  
 "to the Church, and bestow them upon  
 "lay-persons; if they could take the  
 "great tithes of *twenty parishes* in Ire-  
 "land, and give them to the ancestors  
 "of the Duke of Devonshire, who at  
 "present possesses them; if they could  
 "take these immense masses of public  
 "property, and make them private pro-  
 "perty; if your Royal Father and the  
 "Parliament could alienate, for ever, a  
 "part of the Church property, in Eng-  
 "land, *under the name* of redeeming  
 "the land-tax; if they could interfere  
 "with the owners of benefices, and com-  
 "pel them to give such and such parts  
 "of their income to curates; if the King  
 "and Parliament could constitutionally  
 "do all these things, the policy of se-  
 "veral of which is extremely doubtful,  
 "cannot your Majesty and the Parliament  
 "resume the tithes and Church lands of  
 "Ireland; can you not so dispose of  
 "that mass of public property in any  
 "manner that to your wisdom may seem  
 "meet?

8. "And, what violence, what injus-

"tice, would here be committed? The  
 "present possessors of the tithes and  
 "other Church property in Ireland,  
 "have no right in it but for their lives.  
 "What reason would they have to com-  
 "plain, if a just estimate were made,  
 "and a fair compensation afforded them?  
 "To object to this, must give us an in-  
 "stance of wonderful insincerity, or  
 "wonderful insolence. There are ample  
 "proofs before Parliame<sup>nt</sup>, that there  
 "are *no Protestant flocks*. Why, then,  
 "want to perpetuate an establishment,  
 "which, at the very least, can only an-  
 "noy and irritate the people at large?  
 "In such a wish, there appears to be  
 "perverseness strongly tinged with  
 "malignity.

9. "The *expense* of maintaining the  
 "Protestant Establishment in Ireland,  
 "is not less, take it altogether, than *six*  
 "*millions a year*; and, the friends of  
 "that establishment most roundly assert,  
 "that its revenue is not much above  
 "*two millions a year*. Relying, how-  
 "ever, upon the accuracy of Mr. HUME'S  
 "calculation, I take its revenue to be  
 "*three millions a year*. I would take  
 "the three millions to myself, if I were  
 "the Minister, and had your Majesty's  
 "leave; I would turn them into pen-  
 "sions for the lives of the present pos-  
 "sessors, and would save the other three  
 "millions. But, the Church property  
 "would yield me something, though I  
 "should release the whole country from  
 "the payment of tithes. The glebes in  
 "Ireland are of enormous extent and  
 "value. Death would work for me, and  
 "I should soon pay the pensions out of  
 "the interest of the fund arising from  
 "the glebes. The Lord Chancellor  
 "might not like my plan; but I should  
 "see no harm in filling up livings and  
 "sees with my Irish pensioners, as we  
 "do, or *ought* to do, commissions in the  
 "army or navy from the list of half-  
 "pay."

Now, reader, was this a wise and just  
 proposition, or was it not? You will per-  
 ceive that, in paragraph six, I say that  
 "Emancipation as it has been called,  
 "would, in fact, be no emancipation at  
 "at all to the great body of the Irish  
 "people." I add these words: "I would

"not, if I had the power *prevent* it; but "I am sure that it would not restore "peace and content to Ireland." Here, then, the vile people of the Association in Ireland, and the mean people of the Association in England, affect to discover an inconsistency, and set up the old cuckoo-cry accordingly. But, attend to dates and circumstances. In the month of October, 1824, we had not heard of the projects of giving salaries to the priests, for disfranchising the forty-shilling freeholders; and, we had THEN no positive proof that these *Catholic Emancipators* were foes to that Reform in Parliament, without which, I am convinced England can never be happy, and without which, I am convinced she must sink into the lowest state of degradation. Therefore, my views, unless I had been the most inconsistent of mortals, must have been changed with regard to what is called emancipation. O'CONNELL and his associates offered to *compel* the people of Ireland to submit to disfranchisement; DOCTOR DOYLE was ready to accept of the salary rather than that his refusal should prevent emancipation; and, which was one of the greatest points with me, this Right Reverend, and, generally-speaking most respectable, and, in all respects, highly-endowed prelate, was willing that tithes should exist for ever, without any diminution at all, and should continue to press alike upon Catholics and Protestants; was willing that the poor Catholic should continue to be scourged by the scorpion's tail, till it drew his very blood, provided only that loaf and fish seeking lords, squires, and lawyers, had their ambition and their avarice gratified. Is not all this true? Every reader will say yes; and, was it not my duty, though I would not have *prevented* "*Catholic Emancipation*" in October 1824, to endeavour to prevent it by all the means in my power after the month of March 1825?

Therefore, when a grand struggle was to be made on PENENDEN HEATH, towards which the eyes of the whole kingdom was directed, it became me to take a decided part against every project for emancipation until we should get a protecting Parliament. But, in the Petition

which I moved upon that occasion, did I forget Ireland, did I show a coldness in the cause of the Catholic religion and Catholic people? Did I show any *inconsistency* in the writing of that Petition? Did I afford justification to DOCTOR DOYLE for representing me as alienated from the Catholics? Let the Petition speak for itself: let the vile satellite of O'CONNELL, the wretched man of the name of BARRETT; let the ridiculous creatures who were coming on a *mission* to England, look into their budget of facts and arguments, and see if they can find any thing there, likely to produce on the minds of good men in England, one millionth part of the effect, in good feeling towards the people of Ireland, that must naturally have been produced by the following passage of that Petition.

"That, however, if your petitioners were so unjust and barbarous as to find, or so cowardly as to effect to find, consolation from reflecting that their sufferings yield in point of severity to those inflicted by the same hand on others, they might find such consolation in contemplating the treatment of their unhappy fellow-subjects, the Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in which part of the kingdom all the abuses above enumerated, exist in a degree tenfold greater than in England; that, in that oppressed country, there are 3,403 parishes; that the tithes and glebes of all these are received by less than 350 Rectors and Vicars, even the livings being only 515 in number, and that, of course, each Parson has on an average the tithes and glebes of more than nine parishes; that, of the 3,403 parishes, there are only 139 which have parsonage-houses, and that, consequently, there is but one parsonage-house to every 24 parishes; that in the 3,493 parishes there are only 465 churches, so that there is but one church to seven parishes; that in this state of things, the Church of England people have become less and less in number, until, at last, there is not more than one person of that religion to every six who are Catholics or Dissenters; that in many parishes there are not more than five or six Churchmen in a parish, and that, in others, there are none at all; and that, yet, the Catholics and Dissenters, who, while they build and repair their own chapels and support their own ministers, are compelled to pay tithes exacted in the most rigorous manner, to a Clergy whom they seldom see, and of whom they often know not the names; are harassed by the tithe-proctors and by processes issued frequently by the parsons themselves, acting as magistrates, and are, by the proctors, aided by armed men, frequently stripped of every thing in the world, even to



their last potato, and their last rag of clothing; so that, throughout whole districts, the wretched people are, at times, reduced to a state of rage, produced by the cravings of hunger, and by feelings of revenge; that here your humble petitioners find the true cause of all the discontents, all the violences, all the horrid acts of blood, which are constantly making their appearance in that unhappy country; here, too, your humble petitioners see the cause of those laws passed of late years, for transporting Irishmen beyond the seas (and that, too, without Judge and Jury), for being out of their houses, for any fifteen minutes at one time, between sunset and sunrise; and here, also, your petitioners see the true cause that they themselves are compelled to pay heavy taxes for the support, in time of profound peace, of a large standing army, for which they can discover no real use other than that of keeping their Irish fellow-subjects in this horrible state of subjection, oppression, and degradation."

"When O'CONNELL, with all his Association to aid him, shall do something equal in value to this in favour of Ireland, and especially the Catholics, let him talk of his merits in the cause, let him put forward his pretensions; but, never will he have ground to such pretensions to the last hour of his life. I here put an end to this part of the subject. The reader will be satisfied that I have not misrepresented DOCTOR DOYLE, for whose deviations I am sorry; but for whose great worth in his capacity of Bishop, as far as his clerical duties are concerned, I have great respect, and even veneration. Though he is ready to acknowledge the *justice* of the tithes, and dues, and rates, of the Established Church, I am not, and I never shall be; and one of my great reasons for opposing Catholic Emancipation is, that it would add to the strength of those who wish for those tithes, and rates, and dues, to remain undiminished.

The other subject, with regard to which DOCTOR DOYLE complains in the passage of his letter above quoted, namely, my statement of DOCTOR DOYLE's opinions and assertions, relative to the papal authority in Ireland, I must leave out until next week, for want of that room, which I shall then have to spare; and, if any of my readers should (after reading the Protestant Reformation) wonder why I, a Protestant, should be such a stickler for the authority of the

Pope, I beg him to read the Protestant Reformation once more, and if that should still leave him in the dark upon the subject, he will find himself in the full light before the night of next Saturday, if he please.

WM. CORBETT.

### CITY JOBBERS.

I INSERT below the MORNING HERALD report of what took place in the ward of Farringdon Without on St. Thomas's day. The speaking continued for very nearly *six hours*, one hour of which I occupied. To read slowly and deliberately for six hours, would require printed matter equal to *eighteen Registers* in the usual print, it requiring just about twenty minutes to read one Register. The debating, therefore, would have much more than filled the whole of THE MORNING HERALD, though the broadest of all the broad sheets, I believe, in the universe. The reader will, therefore, be pleased to look upon the following as a mere sketch; an annotation of some points, rather than a report of speeches. I laid it pretty well into the jobbers; and for that *sole* purpose; for the purpose of having a convenient station for doing this, I insisted upon being looked upon as a *candidate*, and that, too, without condescending to be nominated by any of the electors. It was impossible for any newspaper to give a full account of what passed; but, as I have now taken this *job* in hand, this grand *job* of all jobs, I will not fail to go through with it. I recommended Mr. HUNT, not as an associate of the guzzling and gormandizing vermin, but as a *ferret* to be sent in amongst them to disturb them in their dilapidations. They were aware of this, too; and, accordingly, the vermin have been working most incessantly, ever since my proclamation came out, to protect themselves against the rummaging which they would have had to undergo from Mr. HUNT. Against that rummaging they will, I dare say, protect themselves, as, indeed, it was natural that they should; but against my rummagings they can have and shall have no protection. I am determined to do my best

to protect myself and my neighbours against their plunderings; and I'll engage to find *ten thousand men*, living within the walls of the City, if that were necessary, to join me in a petition to the Parliament to take away what are called the *privileges* of this nest of jobbers; I will, in my individual capacity, oppose them by all the means which the law will afford me. An action or two against them (not tried by a jury of themselves), will put them to rights in a short time: will leave them less to guzzle and to gormandize. However, a full exposure of them cannot be made by me for a week or two yet to come, all the room which I shall have being at present bespoken for about a fortnight. The public will be astonished when it comes to see a true representation of the management of the affairs of this City. I shall not forget the patriot WAITHMAN, Member of Parliament, and *glove merchant*, who once retired from "*public life*" from a cause known to very few people, and who returned to "*public life*" from a cause as little known as that of the retirement. I quit the subject for the present, pledging myself to expose this system to the execration of the whole country, and to do my best to put an end to it. I will just add that the election, as it is called, and which is now going on, is the most perfect farce of the kind that ever was heard of; that the *inhabitants* of the ward, have, generally-speaking nothing at all to do with it. However, I must desist for the present.

#### FARRINGDON WITHOUT.

THE utmost interest was excited yesterday throughout the above Ward, in consequence of the Wardmote being held, in St. Andrew's Church, for the election of Common Councilmen for the ward for the year ensuing. Such was the intense curiosity, that the ward authorities found it necessary to keep the doors of the Church closed until close upon the hour appointed for the Meeting. Notwithstanding, however, by some means or other, an immense number of persons managed to gain admittance, and, before the Alderman took the chair, every part of the Church was crowded to excess. In the galleries there were a number of respectable females. Mr. Cobbett was stationed near the Chair, writing; and

Mr. Hunt, on his entering, was greeted with loud cheers.

Mr Alderman WAITHMAN, on taking the chair, observed that the inhabitants generally, he had no doubt, were well acquainted with the duties they were assembled to perform; but as it was possible that there might be some young inhabitants, he would say that the duties of a Common Councilman were of a very serious and important nature; at least, so our ancestors considered them, for the very precept by which they were then assembled stated that they were to select sixteen of the most efficient, honest, and discreet men they could find in their ward, to represent them in the Court of Common Council; and this right was annually vested in them, and therefore secured to the inhabitants the full freedom of representation. For his own part, his only duty was to keep order; and for the purpose of effecting that, he should have to claim the support of the Meeting, in order to check any improper ebullition of feeling that might arise out of the heat of the debate. He had received complaints on this subject from the Bishop of London, who considered that a Church was not the proper place for holding this sort of meetings; but as no other fit place could be found in the ward, there was no alternative. He trusted that nothing improper would occur on this occasion, and felt assured that whatever disturbance had previously taken place had been caused by persons who had improperly obtruded themselves into the church. He would now read the names of the several gentlemen, presented by the different precincts as fit persons to represent the ward in the Court of Common Council. The following were the names.

ST. ANDREW'S—Mr. Richard Taylor, and Mr. G. F. Harms.

ST. SEPULCHRE'S—J. Blacket, Esq., Deputy; Mr. W. A. Beckwith, Mr. Vincent Figgins, Mr. Alexander Galloway, Mr. J. T. Bedford, and Mr. Underwood Price.

ST. BRIDE'S—Mr. Samuel Roberts, Mr. E. Tickner, Mr. Robert Obbard.

ST. DUNSTAN'S—Mr. H. Butterworth, Mr. James Ramshaw, Mr. Charles A. Savage.

ST. MARTIN'S—Mr. James Harmer, Mr. W. C. Bousfield.

Having read the names, the worthy Alderman inquired if there were any other candidates.

Mr. MILLER then rose, and proposed Mr. Hunt as a fit and proper person to be elected one of their Common Council.

Mr. BARRETT seconded the nomination. Mr. Hunt, he observed, was a man that had not only the ability, but the courage to serve them; he had both the will and the talents to do it, and at the last election he had received the support of 347 electors, equally respectable as any other electors in the ward. He voted for him on the last occasion, and he had had no reason for changing his opinion since. His private conduct he conceived to be quite as immaculate as that of any of the sixteen



members that were recommended by the Precinct Committees; he, therefore, cheerfully seconded the nomination.

The ALDERMAN inquired if there were any other candidates.

Mr. COBBETT here presented himself, and begged to announce that he offered himself as a candidate—(loud applause, intermixed with some hisses).

Alderman WATHMAN said, that it was, he conceived, necessary that he should be proposed and seconded.

Mr. COBBETT contended that it was not necessary; it was quite sufficient that he avowed himself to be a candidate.

An ELECTOR—Oh! yes, if you get but one vote, that is sufficient to qualify you to keep open the poll.

Alderman WATHMAN should like to refer the question to other hands; it has always been usual for each candidate to be proposed and seconded; and that appeared to be necessary, as, otherwise, an individual not a resident might propose himself; however, as Mr. Cobbett was well known to them—(a laugh), he would not object to the mode adopted.

The ALDERMAN now asked if any elector wished to address anything previous to his taking the election; but not one of the sixteen stepped forward.

Mr. HUNT then presented himself, and was loudly cheered. He commenced, "Ladies and Gentlemen"—(laughter); yes, he repeated, "Ladies and Gentlemen;" he had been censured for making use of that term on a former occasion; he, however, repeated it, notwithstanding, for he was not one of those that would submit to be dictated to by his enemies, and he thought he had none amongst the ladies—(laughter). When he last had the honour of addressing them, all his statements were disbelieved, in consequence of the assertions of his opponents. One said there was nothing of the sort, another called his statements false, another gave him the lie—and he was treated with all sorts of abuse. But, he would ask them, who was correct? Was it himself, or those who opposed him—and who told him that he ought to consider himself as insulted? He, however, did not consider himself at all insulted by being rejected for one year. He understood that he was to-day to be attacked by a Mr. Taylor; but he trusted that, before any of the sixteen attacked him, they would first show that they had at least a little consistency amongst them, and that they would prove that consistency either by arguments or facts; and he would beg of the worthy Alderman, in the discharge of his duty, to give those gentlemen notice, that it was not sufficient for them merely to call out—"Oh, it's a lie!" "It's false!" "You are a black-guard!" "You are always telling lies!" He had shaken hands with one of them that morning; he was, however, satisfied that they had not yet been taught good manners. He stated last year, that an Auditor could not gain access to the Corporation accounts un-

less he was a member of the Court of Common Council. He was told that was a lie. But the 47th Rule or Regulation of the Court expressly prohibited any one but a member from inspecting the accounts; and upon his first application to inspect the accounts, he was met, *in limine*, with this objection. Was this, then a lie? The next statement was regarding the inquiry of the Finance Committee. Was that a lie? But there was such a Committee—and what were its duties? Why, to look out and see what could be grabbed here, and what could be grabbed there—and, God help them! a precious task they had to perform! (A laugh). And, amongst these inquiries was the sale of the Secondaries' Office—upon which two of these Committees had reported that it should again be sold. This was called a lie—but was it not true? and, after a year's delay, the second Report was made; and, but for the spirited conduct of Mr. Charles Pearson, aided, as it had been so powerfully, by the exertions of the public press, the office would have been sold again. He next would advert to his assertion, that ten or twelve thousand pounds had been expended in giving a splendid dinner to what he termed the Allied Despots—but whom he supposed they must call the Allied -Sovereigns—at a period when the Chamberlain had refused to advance money to buy bread for the prisoners in gaol—(hear). Now this was called a lie—(hear). But what would appear to be the case? Why, he had only under-rated the amount, for the amount was 20,037*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*; and at that very moment they owed a debt of 58,000*l.*, besides 10,000*l.* to the Chamberlain, and 17*l.* to the Remembrancer; and when this debt was spoken of, it was suggested by the Court of Common Council that a rate should be levied on the citizens to replenish the ruined funds of the Corporation; and, after conduct so abandoned and so profligate, how could the members of the Corporation for one moment justify themselves in making such a call? He would now advert to the vast expense occasioned by votes of thanks. Every vote of thanks cost the Corporation a large sum, for it must be emblazoned forth and sent to the party, and that party, perhaps, one of those that had been squandering away the money of the Corporation; he had himself had the honour of receiving a vote of thanks—(a laugh) from that very body who now come forward as his greatest enemies—(applause). The sentiments of the Corporation regarding him might have changed since that period; perhaps the members thought that two years and a half's imprisonment had not improved him; that might be, for imprisonment seldom did improve a man; and perhaps some of the members of the Corporation might have learnt that by experience long before he went to a goal—(a laugh). If his opponents were men that would be the same to-morrow as to-day, men that would act on the broad principles of public liberty, he would resign the contest. He would next refer to the gross forgeries

that had been resorted to by making use of Mr. Cobbett's name in printed circulars, in order falsely to calumniate him (Mr. Hunt); just as if Mr. Cobbett's shoulders were not broad enough to bear them himself. The assertions made use of in this way were so gross and scandalous as scarcely to be believed, but his opponents had resorted to them. Such conduct was as grossly insulting to the understandings of the electors as it was disgraceful and unjust in vilifying his (Mr. Hunt's) character. One of their late members (Mr. Vincent Figgins) had asserted that private character and private conduct were as much essential in a Common Councilman as public principles. Now, he put his private character in competition with that of the most immaculate of their late representatives. When he charged them with a neglect of duty, it was no answer for them to turn round and say, "Why, Hunt, you do not live with your wife?" It would be in the recollection of many of them, that their now worthy Alderman was calumniated in this way many years ago, and was, in consequence, always kept at the bottom of the poll; but time showed that these calumnies were all falsehoods, and he would now explain the reason why he did not live with his wife—(hear, hear). He had now been separated from her 26 years; he discovered that they could not agree, and, therefore, they consented to a separation; and he settled on her four times the amount of the marriage portion he received with her—(applause). Yet it was said that he had turned his wife away. Since that period he had not followed the example of some hoary-headed gentlemen he could name; for he would defy any individual to say that he had ever set one foot within the door of a brothel—(some disapprobation). He would defy any one to say that he was ever seen coming out of one even—(a laugh); nor had ever been guilty of the little, nasty, dirty acts with which he could accuse his opponents; he had never been guilty of frequenting common pot-houses, and smoking and drinking there; but since he had been on his canvass, he had, of necessity, been compelled to visit some of these houses. He had discovered that Mr. Beckwith had his houses; one he visited every Saturday evening, another on a Thursday, and another on Tuesdays, and so on. His opponent, Mr. Figgins, was also of this description, and at these meetings it was a constant practice to sing songs of the most beastly and indecent description—(hear, hear); songs that would almost make humanity shudder, and yet these songs were allowed and applauded, and his opponent, Mr. Figgins, sat and laughed at them until his old rotten teeth almost dropped out of his head—(a laugh). He had heard that songs were sung at these houses that would not be tolerated by the lowest prostitutes that visited the *Finish*, and others of the lowest places of that description. Nay, the language was so disgusting, that even one of those would kick the monster out that should attempt to sing such a song—(loud

applause); and, therefore, was it by such immaculate men as these that his morals were to be questioned?—(hear, hear)—These immaculate gentlemen were always talking of their honour and their honesty; but what would these honourable and honest gentlemen say when they are told that they have amongst their body one individual who has been twice convicted at the Old Bailey for fraud? These, forsooth, were your amiable and moral men! Then they had Mr. Galloway, the Greek and Turk man—(a laugh). They had another, who had been tried for a rape on his own servant; and although the capital charge was not made out, he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and the Chairman told him that it was a lucky escape, for, if he had been convicted of the capital offence, his life would certainly have been forfeited. Such were the fair fame and fair characters of these gentlemen. God knows that he was not more immaculate than other men; but he would say, let him who was guiltless throw the first stone. Was it to be said that if the King was placed in his (Mr. Hunt's) situation, he was to be considered as unfit to perform the duties of his office? He did not like to rake up the ashes of the dead, but what would they say to the case of the late Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke?—(Disapprobation.)

Mr. Alderman WATTHAM thought it was not proper to attack the characters of deceased individuals.

Mr. HUNT would say no more on that subject, but would refer to the case of the widow of the late Charles James Fox. Mr. Fox, he believed, was a patron of their worthy Alderman—at any rate he commenced his career in his school, and the public were now paying 1,200*l.* a-year to Mr. Fox's widow, but Mr. Fox for many years cohabited with Mrs. Armstead.—(Hear, hear.) Would Mr. Figgins wish to attack the Marquis of Anglesea because he married the wife of another man? If he went on in this way, he would be next for breaking the the King's head, and the heads of all the Royal Family.

Mr. THOMPSON begged the worthy gentleman to refrain from indulging in these remarks.

Mr. HUNT insisted that every candidate ought to be prepared to go to the top of the tree, and to pull down all abuses. His opponent, Mr. Taylor, when at the Lumber Troop, had asked him what he expected to find if the screen were removed, and assured him that he would find nothing but a mare's nest—(a laugh). He did not, certainly, expect to remedy every abuse, but he thought he could assist in remedying some. In 1807, when provisions were quite as dear as they are now, the Consolidated Rate was for some houses 4*s.* the half-year; and was shortly afterwards raised to 6*s.* 8*d.*; and now it was one pound, and the Common Council had gone quietly on, although there was an increase of no less than 400 per cent.; but if this were inquired into, he supposed it would only be called another



mare's nest—(a laugh). There was upon one occasion a sum of 80 guineas that had been raised by fines for constables not attending to their duty; but this sum was spent in a dinner, instead of applying it to the relief of the watch and ward rates. He was not an enemy to eating and drinking, but he liked to eat and drink at his own expense. There was one item that he could not pass over in quiet; that was the 12,000*l.* for the expenses of various descriptions incident to the Corporate body feasting, &c., and on the same day they gave 100*l.* to support the widows of poor freemen. Now he would not have had any objection to the granting both these sums, provided they had been reversed; that is, that the 12,000*l.* had been given to the poor widows, and the 100*l.* only for the gorging—(loud applause). But the time was now come when it was necessary that they should begin to think and judge for themselves and he would relate an anecdote of the mode in which he had been treated when he first went to look over the City's accounts. Would they believe it, there were no vouchers produced!

Mr. COBBETT—No vouchers?

Mr. HUNT—None. Nothing but four books; and when they inquired for information they were answered by the remark that they were giving an infinity of trouble. Amongst these items was the City solicitor's bill of some 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* And then come two items of paid to Mr. Hallkeeper, first 200*l.*, then 700*l.*, and, upon inquiry, he found it was for dinners for the City Lands Committee. He called upon Mr. Blacket, their Deputy, to produce the accounts of these dinners, but he refused to do so, and told him he must petition the Court of Common Council. This he scorned to do, alleging that he was appointed to his office by the Liverymen, which was a superior power to the Common Council. After some few further remarks, Mr. Hunt concluded that he was put forward under the impression of rendering some services. He looked up to the support of the electors, and he trusted that he should be returned in a very high position, if not at the top of the poll, and that Mr. Figgins or one of the other sixteen, might prepare to pack up his traps and be off—(loud applause).

Mr. Wood would oppose Mr. Hunt, because he had not, in his opinion, a shadow of pretension to represent the ward. His public and private character had been such, that—(here there were hisses and disturbance).

Mr. Alderman WATHMAN requested that order and decorum might be preserved.

Mr. Wood resumed—They were to elect sixteen fit and proper men. Who were fit and proper men? Why men who had their property in the ward! Was Mr. Hunt known as a man of property? Certainly not. For 30 years Mr. Hunt had been before the public, and his character was well known—(hear, hear). And was a man like that to be permitted to accuse 240 tried, respectable men of gross knavery? It was not to be endured that

he should be allowed to do so? Some years ago he tried to get elected Member of Parliament for Bristol. He was known there; and, out of about 5,000 voters, he could not raise more than four or five hundred votes. He was the libeller of that independent and consistent character, Sir Francis Burdett. But, when he stood for Westminster, he only obtained eighty odd votes. Will, then, the electors of Farringdon Without have such a man? (Cries of "Yes, yes! we will have him.") So long as he had a hand to raise, he would do all in his power to prevent so dreadful an occurrence—(laughter). He would never plunge his head into the mouth of a vile slanderer. (Hisses.) Mr. Hunt was nothing but a political pretender and a demagogue; and was their ward to be represented by such a man as Henry Hunt? Was he to be named with men who had fought and bled for their country? (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Alderman WATHMAN interfered to preserve order.

Mr. Wood proceeded, and accused Mr. Hunt of wanting to divide the 150*l.* allowed the Auditors, instead of spending it; and declared that Mr. Allen, one of the Auditors, had told him so. If the Wardmote returned Mr. Hunt, they would not only be insulting the whole of those gentlemen whom they returned as his colleagues, but they would also be disgracing themselves. He therefore once more denounced him as a political pretender and a demagogue.

A pause here took place.

Mr. COBBETT now presented himself, and asked whether it was the intention of any of the candidates to defend themselves, as their advocate had so completely failed in his attempt? He (Mr. Cobbett) had long been an inhabitant of the ward, and paid severely; but in return he had received nothing but insult and injury from this depraved body.

Alderman WATHMAN thought it would be better that Mr. Cobbett should proceed at once, otherwise the late Common Councilmen would have to be put upon their defence a second time.

Mr. COBBETT then proceeded. He had not had time, from one avocation or another, to have attended them before; but he had watched attentively the proceedings of Mr. Hunt, and he really thought, from what he had seen, that the inhabitants had been for years giving these Common Councilmen a license to rob them;—that they, like bees, were working for the hive—they had allowed the Common Councilmen to steal the honey—(a laugh). He was perfectly satisfied with the exertions of Mr. Hunt, and he well knew his diligence, integrity, and good motives; but, in his opinion, the whole matter was a mere question of pounds, shillings, and pence; that was the question, and the only one—it was a mere inquiry into expenditure and receipts—(hear, hear). No man would suffer his servants or his tradespeople to rob him if he could help it, and, therefore, why should they sub-

mit to be plundered by their Common Councilmen? If the rest of the Meeting were content to be plundered, he, for one, would not. (Hear, hear.) The amount of the City income did not appear on the face of the account published; but they had a mighty neat way of getting over it. One article of income particularly attracted his notice, and that appeared under the head Tolls. Under this lumping sum were enumerated tolls of the various markets, Smithfield, Leadenhall, Newgate, and various others; to which were added fines and bequests. Now, how bequests could by possibility come under the head of Tolls, he, Mr. Cobbett, could not by any possibility tell. What, could they call money that was bequeathed to them a toll? Could they call that which was their absolute property a toll?—No. But it was convenient to jumble all these articles together, to stifle inquiry. But, whilst upon this subject of tolls, there was one description to which he must particularly allude. Every cart of a non-freeman coming into the City paid a duty of 2*d.*, and he supposed waggon did the same; but carriages paid no duty—no, forsooth, because that would touch the pockets of the members of the Corporation; and it would be very indelicate indeed to stop a carriage and demand 2*d.*—(a laugh).—But it was nothing to pounce, like a Custom-house officer, on a poor carman, and insist upon having two pence. Now he had taken some pains to ascertain the number of carts from which this duty was demanded;—the number was no less than 186,700; and supposing 100,000 only of these carts to come into the City but once a-week, and that was a very moderate calculation, then 43,000*l.* ought to be received; but nothing like that sum was ever accounted for; but the real truth was, that the whole was illegal—the charter of the City did not authorize or justify this exaction, and he wished the public to know it, and if ever one of these collectors stopped a cart of his again, to demand the toll, he would have him indicted for highway robbery. But as this money was collected, why was there not a specific account of it? Why was it jumbled in with markets, tolls, offices, and bequests, the total of which accounted for was 59,915*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.* He understood that, under these market-tolls, if a man had a stall he paid 30*l.*, 40*l.*, or 50*l.*, per year. They had been told about the magnificence of that great city, which magnificence cost them many thousand pounds a-year; but then it was a great city. But was not America a great nation—a nation composed of from thirteen to fourteen millions of inhabitants? But the whole expenses of the President of the United States did not amount to the annual grant to the Lord Mayor of London. But then it would be said that this was compensated by the magnificence—whether that consisted in viewing the gold coach or not, he did not know. He considered that the Common Council had grossly neglected their duty, and he therefore wished to introduce a better man

amongst them—and that man was Mr. Hunt; for he conceived that Mr. Hunt would (if elected) be like a ferret turned in amongst a nest of rats. There was not a man amongst their late Representatives that he had the least respect for, except his friend Mr. Butterworth, whom he believed to be a very honest man; he had no objection to an allowance of 100*l.* a-year to support this great, good, and glorious reputation; but further than that he would not go. Mr. Cobbett then proceeded to comment on a charge of 150*l.* for a summer excursion of one of these Committees—a sum spent as if the City coffers were overflowing with money, but which would reflect everlasting infamy on those who received it. The next item was 615*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* for a water procession to Oxford; then a sum of 100*l.* for another journey. These things having passed unnoticed proved that the conduct of their late Representatives had been the most abominable; it showed that misery and wretchedness ought to be their lot; it showed that their audacity was only equalled by their rapacity: and this was to be paid out of the Orphan's Fund. They had the richest wines, French pears at 6*d.* each, apples, and all manner of dear things. City guzzling and guttling beyond measure: in fact, the City authorities appeared to have such enormous swallows, that he thought they would swallow even the widows and orphans themselves—(laughter). He had now come to the jobs: that was, what, in City politeness, were termed public improvements; but he called them mere jobs. Here they were found one day paving the inside of a street, and destroying the benefit of the outsides: another day paving the two outsides, and destroying the good of the inside: they were pulling down and building up, and building up and pulling down; but these were all great public improvements; they gave employment to the son, the brother, the father, the uncle, or the country-cousin, of some member of that immaculate Court. The Government were content to have these things called jobs, but the Corporation would have it that they were public improvements. Talking of corruption, the Government was not a ten-thousandth time so bad as the Corporation of London—(hear, hear); for Government did not deny that they did job occasionally; but these immaculate gentlemen of the Corporation did not admit, and would not admit, that they jobbed; but, of all the jobs that had been attempted, there was a celebrated one that was about to be got up by their faithful Representative, Mr. Galloway—that was a project of another public improvement—which was, to kill cattle by steam machinery; and it was proposed to do this by a compulsory Statute, which would have been defrayed indirectly by the public. They wanted to pass a Bill to compel people to bring their cattle to be slaughtered within the City of London. At first the price was fixed at 7*s.*; then Mr. Galloway came down to 6*s.*; afterwards he thought it might be done for 5*s.*; but the ut-



most price that the butchers had ever paid before was 4s. 6d. But how was this plan to be provided for? Why they were to apply to that easy old hack, the Corporation Fund, to raise no less a sum than 180,000*l*. The Orphans' Fund was to be mortgaged, and the money borrowed from Government, and then, as it was got back, was to be paid into the Treasury at Whitehall. The Committee of the House of Commons, however, rejected the job with contempt, and Mr. Alderman Waithman and Mr. Alderman Wood were parties to it.

Alderman WAITHMAN denied that he was a party; he happened to be on the Committee, and knew of the circumstance merely as a member of the Committee.

Mr. COBBETT here read an extract from Mr. Galloway's evidence before the Committee, in which he states that he had communicated his plan to Aldermen Wood and Waithman.

Alderman WAITHMAN denied that he had any thing to do with the formation of the plan.

Mr. COBBETT—Be this as it might, if a Committee of the House of Commons had not rejected the measure, the Orphans' Fund would have been drawn upon for this 160,000*l*.—(Hear, hear.) The Corporation, too, had the power of holding Courts for the election of constables and other officers; fines were inflicted, but no account was ever rendered of these fines; in fact, the whole business of the Corporation was a job, or rather a combination of jobs; but yet so careful was the Corporation of the funds of this City, that when he (Mr. Cobbett) wrote several letters complaining of his house being obstructed by reason of a quantity of stones being unnecessarily laid in front of it for four months, they returned his letter, saying that they had not funds wherewith to pay the postage of it; in fact it was nothing but a series of privileged robberies, and the members of the Common Council were as changeable as the waters. He would here allude to the heavy dues paid upon goods imported into the port of London. A merchant had to pay more for the dues on goods in the port of London than the whole expenses of bringing them from Liverpool. Again, with coals: if these heavy dues were lessened, he would venture to say that there would be a great reduction in the price of coals; for what with the monopoly in the coal countries with regard to that very necessary article, and the high rate of dues here, it was utterly impossible but that coals must be at a high price. In order to rectify the abuses in the North, a deputation from thence waited upon the Corporation, praying that it would petition Parliament on the subject; but the Corporation turned a deaf ear to the petition, although, if it had interfered, he had no doubt but that coals would now have been 20*s*. instead of 50*s*. a chaldron. And if the Corporation had done its duty, he was certain that the heavy impost of 2*s*. 9*d*. in the pound tithes would never have been levied on the citizens of London. For

his own part, he lived in the parsonage-house, and therefore he was exempt; but it might have been otherwise. It was, he said, formerly observed of the Corporation of London, that they were King-makers, for a King was never proclaimed without their consent; but if a King were expelled a throne now, would any one think of asking the Corporation to select, or even approve of a successor? No. London was formerly a great and important city in political affairs, but it was no longer so; it was sinking lower and lower in public estimation, and he knew not whether it would be of any disadvantage if it lost its charters and privileges altogether—(hear, hear). He had now stated his motives for presenting himself, and would conclude his remarks with the words of an old French proverb, "*Il vaut mieux qu'une cité perisse, que d'être gouvernée par des gueux parvenues.*" Mr. Cobbett sat down amidst considerable cheering.

Mr. BLACKET defended his conduct at considerable length. He did not consider himself sufficiently respectable to fill the honourable situation allotted to him, and he had often expressed that opinion; but still the office had been thrust upon him. He was not a weather-cock.

Mr. COBBETT—Oh no, you stick firmly to the stuff—(a laugh)—steady to the dinners.

Mr. BLACKET resumed. He trusted that the ward would not descend so low as to elect either of the new candidates. If they did so, he should feel it to be his duty to retire. Mr. Figgins he looked upon as a man possessing more honour, more probity, and more virtue, than Mr. Hunt ever possessed in his life.

Mr. BECKWITH deprecated Mr. Hunt as a vile slanderer, that no one believed. He denied frequenting the pot-houses, as alluded to by Mr. Hunt, although he admitted being seen by him at the Ram Tavern, Smithfield. He then referred to the Spafelds business—(here there was some disapprobation). He declared that Mr. Hunt's interference, independent of losing him his property, cost him the life of his son, and nearly that of his wife.

Mr. R. TAYLOR was not accused of any offence. He was perfectly ready to act with any colleague who would aid him in reforming abuses.

Mr. FIGGINS never appeared before them with so much pleasure. It was an honour to him to have the abuse of this shameless fellow.—(Loud murmuring and hisses.) After some considerable time, he proceeded, and accused Mr. Hunt of having turned away his own wife, and of having seduced the wife of Colonel Vince.—(Cries of "Off, off!") Mr. Hunt was as infirm in talent as in virtue; and would they think of sending a detestable adulterer to represent them?

Mr. GALLOWAY complained of the wholesale censure that had been heaped on all the old candidates. He praised the exertions of Mr. Charles Pearson; but there was nothing to be dreaded more than the approbation of Mr. Cobbett.

Mr. COBBETT—Oh, you are perfectly safe on that score.

Mr. GALLOWAY resumed—Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cobbett were fit to run in a curricule together. The honourable member then went on to explain the plan regarding the steam-engines, and denied that he had ever received any of the Corporation money—and during the seven years he had been in the Common Council, he never dined more than seven times, and those not even at the expense of the Corporation. He never made money by the Corporation; on the contrary, he had been a considerable loser by it.

Mr. Hunt rose to explain. He accused Mr. Wood of forgery, in making use of Mr. Cobbett's name.

Mr. WOOD—No matter. I am ready to avow it.

Mr. HUNT denied the truth of all Mr. Wood's statements. As to Mr. Figgins's attack regarding the female alluded to, it was a mere cowardly attack on a woman.

Mr. FIGGINS asked if it were not true!

Mr. HUNT replied that such a question was never put in any other Court than the Spanish Inquisition. As to Mr. Figgins ever being guilty of such an offence—why no man would ever suspect him; the very appearance of the man was a denial to the charge.

After a good deal more personal altercation.

The Alderman proceeded to put the names, previous to which Mr. Cobbett expressed a wish that no person would vote for him as he should withdraw his name.

The numbers appeared pretty equal, but the Alderman declared the show of hands to be in favour of the first sixteen candidates.

A poll was demanded for Mr. Hunt and continued for half an hour.

### CORN PAPER.

THE register after the next will be printed upon paper MADE OF THE HUSKS OF MY OWN CORN; and I will, if I can find time put upon

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